

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 01913 051057Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /013 W  
-----051103Z 013305 /12

P R 051014Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO AMEMBASSY PRAGUE PRIORITY  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 0487

C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 1913

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CZ  
SUBJECT: DISTRIBUTION OF "OSVOBOZENI 1945"

REF: PRAGUE 1145

1. I WAS HAPPY TO HEAR THAT YOU WERE PLANNING TO TRAVEL PERSONALLY TO HELP COMMEMORATE THE IMPORTANT PARTICIPATION OF US FORCES IN THE LIBERATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1945. FROM MY OWN TIME THERE, I CAN THINK OF NOTHING MORE SATISFYING THAN REAFFIRMING THE HISTORICAL TRUTH OF US HELP IN FREEING CZECHOSLOVAKIA. IT IS A NEURALGIC POINT WITH THE RUSSIANS AND THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNISTS, AS YOU KNOW, BECAUSE IT STRIKES AT THE ROOT OF THE FICTION THAT SOVIET HEGEMONY IN EASTERN EUROPE IS LEGITIMATE; WHICH IS ALL THE MORE REASON FOR US TO STAND UP FOR THE TRUTH.

2. AS FOR THE PAMPHLET "OSVOBOZENI 1945," WHILE I RECEIVED MANY PROTESTS DURING MY TIME IN PRAGUE, THE INCIDENT ABOUT THE PAMPHLET WAS THE BITTEREST I CAN RECALL. THE BACKGROUND WAS THAT IN 1975 THE GOC HAD SOME HOPE OF GETTING AROUND THE LONG-GRAVEL AMENDMENT, AND WAS WILLING TO USE THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION TO INDICATE SOME AMELIORATION IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

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THE MFA MADE A FAIRLY BIG DEAL OUT OF COOPERATING WITH US IN CELEBRATING THE US ROLE, AND THIS INCLUDED PLANS FOR SEVERAL JOINT WREATH-LAYING CEREMONIES. UNFORTUNATELY THE PRESS WAS CARRYING ON A NASTY CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE US ROLE IN WWII, SO OUR PROTESTS ABOUT THAT BLENDED WITH PREPARATIONS FOR THE MAY 7-8 COMMEMORATIONS.

3. RIGHTLY OR WRONG, I CONCEIVED THE IDEA OF THE PAMPHLET AND HAD USIA PRINT IT UP, WITHOUT EVER TELLING THE MFA OF OUR PLANS. IN RETROSPECT, I ALSO THINK OUR EDITING WAS NOT GO SOOD AS IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN, AND WE OUGHT TO HAVE IDENTIFIED THE SOURCE (THE OFFICIAL US MILITARY HISTORY OF THE WAR) AND PERHAPS DELETED A FEW OF THE STICKIER SENTENCES AT THE END ABOUT TRYING TO GET THE RUSSIAN TROOPS OUT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. I WAS MEETING WITH ZANTOVSKY REGULARLY RE PLANS FOR THE COMMEMORATEION, BUT WE MAILED OUT SEVERAL THOUSAND COPIES OF THE PAMPHLET BEFORE THE MFA COULD STOP US. ZANTOVSKY CALLED ME IN FOR A BITTER PROTEST, AND DEMANDED THAT WE ISSUE NO MORE OF THE PAMPHLETS; HE CLAIMED IT WAS IN VIOLATION OF CSSR LAW TO MAIL OUT SUCH A PUBLICATION WITHOUT REGISTERING IT WITH THE MFA, ETC. I HAVE A FEELING I GOT HIM INTO SOME PERSONAL DIFFICULTIES BY KEEPING THE PAMPHLET IN RESERVE AND NOT MENTIONING IT DURING OUR PLANNING, BUT IN ANY CASE HIS PROTEST WAS A VERY SHARP ONE. AFTER THAT, WE KEPT COPIES OUT IN THE WAITING ROOMS DURING THE REST OF THE YEAR, BUT DID NOT MAKE ANY EFFORT TO DISTRIBUTE THE PAMPHLET IN THE MAILS OR TO GIVE IT TO CZECHS OR SLOVAKS FOR FEAR OF GETTING THEM IN TROUBLE.

4. THE TROUBLE WITH THE PAMPHLET IS THAT IT TELLS THE HISTORICAL TRUTH IN A WAY THAT MAKES THE RUSSIANS LOOK BAD. I THINK THE PAMPHLET REALLY AGITATED THE AGITPROP TYPES, AND I FEAR ITS REAPPEARANCE WOULD AGITATE THEM EVEN MORE. I DARESAY THIS WOULD NOT BOTHER YOU; HOWEVER, GIVEN THE FORMAL PROTEST AND INTERDICTION HANDED DOWN TO CONFIDENTIAL

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ME BY THE MFA IN 1975, I HAVE LITTLE DOUBT THAT IF YOU TRY TO DISTRIBUTE THE PAMPHLET FURTHER YOU WILL GET A SIMILAR BLAST FROM THE MFA. RECOGNIZING HOW NEURALGIC THE POINT IS, I WOULD WONDER PERSONALLY (IF I WERE ON THE SCENE) WHETHER THE DIVIDENDS WOULD BE WORTH THE BITTERNESS THAT REISSUANCE OF THE PAMPHLET WOULD CAUSE. THIS SEEMS PARTICULARLY VALID BECAUSE THE GOC HAS SOME ARGUING POINT ABOUT THE LEGALITY OF OUR PUTTING OUT SUCH A PAMPHLET, AND PUSHING THIS DEBATE (EVEN IF ULTIMATELY WE FEEL THAT THE GOC IS DEAD WRONG) MIGHT BOUNCE BACK AND HURT DISTRIBUTION OF OTHER EMBASSY PUBLICATIONS.

5. LIKE THE LITTLE GIRL TELLING THURBER ABOUT PENGUINS, I HAVE TOLD YOU MORE ABOUT "OSVOBOZENI 1945" THAN YOU REALLY WANTED TO KNOW. I GO INTO THIS DETAIL BECAUSE I NEVER SAW THE MFA MORE UPSET ABOUT ANYTHING, EXCEPT LONG-GRAVEL, DURING MY BOHEMIAN DAYS, AND I SUSPECT YOU WILL HAVE SOME SIMILAR FUN IF YOU GO AGAIN WITH THE PAMPHLET. HAPPY ANNIVERSARY.

PERRY

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## Message Attributes

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Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009